/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the caçuri, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

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578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ñõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/196 cont./

*192 285 415 [756] b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabís. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch. • [278]

4: Silva--295 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/202 cont./

5) The curare. Curare comes from the Lingua Geral word uirari and indicates the poison prepared by various savage tribes with different plants, especially varieties of Strychnos. On the Uaupés only the Makú (36)

36. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 208) reports that the Buhágana (also called buxpú-maxsã, sarabatana people) make the curare so strong that they even use it to hunt large animals, such as the anta.

know how to prepare it and also make it for the tribes whom they serve. The Makú of Iauareté (37)

37. Prof. Ettore Biocca, in 1944, also witnessed the preparation of the curare by the Makú Indians of the Tiquié, and he took, for the observations of the Laboratório Paulista de Biologia de S. Paulo, samples of the various plants used and of the curare. The analysis of the Laboratório found alkaloids even in some plants that the natives consider less important. Four varieties of Strychnos (toxífera, etc.), two of Menispermáceae (abuta triana de Plancthon and Anomospérmum), and, without alkaloids, one Malpigheácea and one Rubiácea (policóurea or Psychótria) were identified. According to his conclusions, the preparation of the curare by the natives is not "a simple extraction of alkaloids, but a complex chemical operation, with transformation of the physico-chemical and biological properties of the alkaloids themselves" ("Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei" -- Vol. II, 1st sem., 1947). And that the plants not provided with alkaloids (like the Rubiáceae) can be supposed "to have probably the function of allowing or facilitating the native preparation of derivatives of the alkaloids

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) Ehú (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kñse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtŵá, hence the term buxtú-kñse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sitérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

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226 parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical
278 splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot.
[192] On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ɓõ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

[784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

[192] they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

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The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

*[192]

b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of caña brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

> 69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

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efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.

Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimã," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

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2) With traps.

There are several kinds of traps used for fishing; the principal ones are:

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/237/ a) Bũxkõã-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of pataúã, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of extracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ỹe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

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4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

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c) Some plants of the shamanistic therapeutics.

In a small herbarium arranged in the "Centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté, in 1955, there were the following plants of the native therapeutics, collected by some pajés who indicated to us for each of them the name, application, utility, method of preparation, and posology. Because of the native custom of naming the plants according to their application, different plants received the same name, as it was verified in the herbarium and will be indicated below, and sometimes with the process of preparation and posology identical or almost so.

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1. Dyápoa pũrĩsé-ko (for headaches). The bark is scraped and left for some time in water, a cuia of which will be taken later.

2. Me'rẽ-dá (Uaupés Me'nẽ-dá) (eye medicine). The sap is extracted and applied in drops to the eyes.

3. Kaxpé-ri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Scrapings of the root and bark are left for some time in water, which is dripped into the eye five times a day and upon going to bed.

4. Kaxpéri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Some of the water in which there were scrapings of the bark and the root in infusion is dripped into the eye several times a day, especially before going to bed.

/272/ 5. Pixkõ-kó (against toothache). The bark is left in infusion in water, which afterwards is dripped on the aching tooth and the nose.

6. Pá-purĩsé-kó (for stomach pains). The bark is left in infusion in water, half a cup of which is drunk. It also has an emetic effect.

7. Pápwa-kó-dá (against dysentery). The bark is grated, boiled in water, filtered, and half a cup is taken three times a day. The liber of this plant makes a foam and is used to wash the hair.

8. Waxkarí-kó (in the hepatic colics). One uses the scrapings from the root left in water, a cuia of which is taken.

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9. Waxkarĩ-kó (in the hepatic colics). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion for some time.

10. Pirõ-pũrĩ-kó (Uaupés pinõ-pũnĩ-kó) (vermifuge). The scrapings from the bark are left in water, half a cuia of which is taken.

11. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (variety used as vermifuge). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion.

12. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (another variety of vermifuge). Scrapings from the root, placed in infusion, produce a wine-colored liquid, one cuia of which is taken.

13. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (for coughing and pulmonary affections). Scrapings from the bark are macerated in water, of which three cuias a day are taken.

14. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (another variety for tuberculosis). The bark is left in infusion, and three cuias of this water is taken daily for a period of ten days.

15. Seré-kó-dá (in purú-purú (20)

> 20. The purú-purú consists of a discoloration of the epidermis, and more rarely of black spots, caused by a spirochete such as the Treponema pallidum. The Centro de Pesquisas of the Salesian Mission of the Rio Negro has promoted studies of this sickness, very widespread among the Arwake of the Içana, by Prof. Dr. Emilio Biocca and others.

or vitiligo). One grates the bark, which is boiled in water until it acquires the wine-red color. One takes three spoonfuls of this water a day until the spots disappear.

16. Dyápoa-flyñé-kó (for the black spots on the face). The leaves are left in infusion in water, with which the face is washed.

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17. Aña-kõ (against snake bite). The bark and roots of this plant are eaten and also applied to the spot of the bite.

18. Mehẽka-nĩtisé-kó (regulator). The scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to take until the menstrual period is regulated.

19. Põrã-ti-tõokó sĩrĩ-kó (Uaupés põnã-tí-tõokó sinĩ-kó) (in order to have children). Scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to drink until she conceives.

20. Õmõã-di-tá (in order to have a male child). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

21. Õmõã-nũ'myá-põrãtisé (in order to have alternately children of both sexes). The woman must periodically drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

22. Põrã-tyogó sẽrĩgõ-kó-sẽrĩtako (Uaupés põnã-tyogó sẽnĩgõ-kó-sẽnĩtako) (sterilizer). One drinks the water in which scrapings from the root were left in infusion. Its very prolonged use can bring to the woman absolute and definitive sterility.

23. Põrã-tisé sẽrĩtã-kó (Uaupés põnã-tisé sẽnĩtã-kó) (sterilizer). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been macerated. It is preferable to mix it with the abortive kind.

24. Põrã mãrĩsé-kó (Uaupés põnã manĩsé-kó) (sterilizer). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks to avoid fecundation.

25. Sĩrĩtã-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks until she achieves the result.

26. Sĩrĩ-vesé-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, of which the woman will take three or four cuias a day until she achieves the desired result.

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• 278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wɨhɨõ applied to the navel, Wɨhɨõ peon.. kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wɨhɨõ is roundish in shape, of a hard-
[262] ened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wɨhɨ̃ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwí-re Wɨhɨõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wɨhɨõ of tucumã̃ nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõ̃ã́ Wɨhɨõ (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wɨhɨõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wɨhɨõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wɨhɨõ-phɨ̃ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems [192] to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

192 The best-known home remedies are (44):

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44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bĩ̃xkõ̃-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõ̃õ̃ õ̃x'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Aña-kó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

278 /289 cont./

757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead
[764] were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night
[164] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if
[354] this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

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796 534 *778 [192] [562] [858] Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩrĩá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] [278] [192] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/384 cont./
836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
●[278] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
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110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatáruko* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dáwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwa* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
• 278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbü kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaikye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

Another *ihé* product is *pend*, an ash that comes from a secret site

Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedíkwa* sib).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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278 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount
824 will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index
682 finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pend*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûlpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

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278 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only
824 in war and not as a secret potion.

As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may
751 be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if
776 not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk.

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly.

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets.

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out.

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 252 [123] The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot. These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 123 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent [252] rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

[Cont p. 70-A]